

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 055604
ORIGIN EA-09

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 DHA-02 SNM-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00
PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01
SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 OES-06 /084 R

DRAFTED BY EA/RA:RSTHOMPSON
APPROVED BY EA:RCHOLBROOKE
H - ASWIFT (INFO)
EUR - MR. ZIMMERMAN
-----131918Z 017757 /41/84

P 120237Z MAR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO ALEAP PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY
CINCPAC PRIORITY

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

C O R R E C T E D COPY (PARA 7 BADLY GARBLED)

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, MASS

SUBJECT: HOLBROOKE TESTIMONY MARCH 10

1. SEPTTEL REPORTS ASSISTANT SECRETARY DESIGNATE HOLBROOKE
TESTIFIED MARCH 10 BEFORE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON ASIAN
AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS CHAIRED BY CONGRESSMAN WOLFF. THIS
MESSAGE TRANSMITS PERTINENT HIGHLIGHTS.

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PAGE 02 STATE 055604

2. KOREA. CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION REVOLVED AROUND
ADMINISTRATION'S INTENTION TO PHASE OUT GROUND FORCES IN
KOREA, WITH CONGRESSMAN BURKE WARNING OF POSSIBLE ENCOURAGE-
MENT TO THE NORTH. HOLBROOKE EMPHASIZED OUR BELIEF THAT
SOUTH KOREA'S INCREASING STRENGTH, COMBINED WITH CONTINUED
US AIR SUPPORT AND HELP TO STRENGTHEN SOUTH KOREA FORCES,
PLUS OUR MAINTENANCE OF OUR SECURITY COMMITMENT, WOULD
PROVIDE AN ADEQUATE DETERRENT. ASKED ABOUT A TIMETABLE,
HOLBROOKE NOTED THE PRESIDENT THE PREVIOUS DAY HAD SAID
4-5 YEARS. AS WE DEVELOP MODALITIES WE WILL CONSULT

CLOSELY WITH THE ROK AND JAPAN.

3. HOLBROOKE CONFIRMED NEWS ACCOUNTS THAT PAKISTAN PM ALI BHUTTO HAD CONVEYED TO PRESIDENT-ELECT CARTER A NORTH KOREAN DESIRE FOR US-DPRK NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THE RESPONSE HAD BEEN THAT WE WOULD NOT TALK TO NORTH KOREA

WITHOUT THE PRESENCE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. HOLBROOKE ALSO STRESSED OUR ASSISTANCE TO KOREA SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN TO MEAN WE CONDONE THE HUMAN RIGHTS PRACTICES OF THAT GOVERNMENT. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF ASKED IF NORTH KOREA COULD SUSTAIN A THRUST INTO SOUTH KOREA WITHOUT OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE AND WAS TOLD IT COULD, ALTHOUGH AT SOME POINT OUTSIDE HELP WOULD BECOME NECESSARY. ASKED IF THERE HAD BEEN ANY SIGN OF SOVIET OR CHINESE COOPERATION TO SOLVE THE KOREAN PROBLEM, HOLBROOKE SAID NO. DURING A VAGUE AND UNFOCUSSED DISCUSSION OF NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION HOLBROOKE STRESSED THE STRONG VIEWS OF THE PRESIDENT AND SAID IT WOULD BE VERY DANGEROUS IF THIS BECAME AN ISSUE BETWEEN THE US AND ROK. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF SAID HIS CONCERN WAS THE VULNERABILITY OF OUR WEAPONRY, TO WHICH HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THE ADMINISTRATION SHARED HIS CONCERN AND IN ANY CASE THE POINT THE CONGRESSMAN WAS CONCERNED ABOUT HAD NOT YET BEEN REACHED.

4. JAPAN. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF RAISED VARIOUS QUESTIONS
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RELATING TO THE FUTURE POSSIBILITY OF JAPAN DEVELOPING A NUCLEAR WEAPONS CAPABILITY, PERHAPS IN RESPONSE TO DEVELOPMENTS CASTING DOUBT ON THE US NUCLEAR UMBRELLA SUCH AS A CONGRESSIONAL MANDATE TO REMOVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS FROM JAPAN. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THE JAPANESE DO NOT HAVE THE DESIRE TO DEVELOP NUCLEAR WEAPONS, THE US SECURITY UMBRELLA WOULD REMAIN, WE DO NOT HAVE NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN JAPAN, AND OUR SECURITY COMMITMENT HAS NOT BEEN QUESTIONED.

5. PHILIPPINES. IN REPLY TO A SPECIFIC QUESTION ABOUT THE NEED FOR US BASES IN THE PHILIPPINES HOLBROOKE RESERVED HIS RESPONSE UNTIL OUR CURRENT REVIEW OF THE BASE NEGOTIATIONS IS COMPLETED SINCE THE QUESTION OF THE VALUE OF THE BASES TO US IS ONE ISSUE UNDER CONSIDERATION. HOLBROOKE SIMILARLY DEFERRED A REPLY AS TO ANY US DEFENSE COMMITMENT IN THE SPRATLYS. ASKED THE RATIONALE FOR CONTINUED MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE PHILIPPINES IN VIEW OF OUR HUMAN RIGHTS CONCERNS, HOLBROOKE REPLIED THAT THE LEVEL OF FY 1978 IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS FOR FY 1977 AND THAT IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE AT THIS POINT TO CUT MILITARY ASSISTANCE SHARPLY GIVEN THE IMPORTANCE OF NEGOTIATING A MUTUALLY-

SATISFACTORY AGREEMENT ON THE BASES. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF ASKED THE DOD REPRESENTATIVE, GENERAL FISH, WHETHER SEA LANES COULD BE KEPT OPEN WITHOUT USE OF PHILIPPINE BASES. HE WAS TOLD IT COULD BE DONE BUT WITH GREATER DIFFICULTY AND AT HIGHER COST. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF RECALLED HE HAD TOLD GENERAL ROMULO THAT THE US PEOPLE

WOULD NOT STAND FOR BLACKMAIL FOR CONTINUED USE OF THE BASES BECAUSE ONE OF THEIR USES WAS FOR MUTUAL DEFENSE. HOLBROOKE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT OBSERVANCE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE PHILIPPINES IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION.

6. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF NOTED THAT THE FULL COMMITTEE HAD LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PAGE 04 STATE 055604

DECIDED TO PHASE OUT GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE BUT THAT GRANT ELEMENTS ARE STILL INCLUDED IN THE REQUEST FOR INDONESIA, THE PHILIPPINES AND THAILAND. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT IT MUST BE RECOGNIZED THAT THE ERA OF GRANT MAP IN SOUTHEAST ASIA IS COMING TO AN END, AND THAT THIS IS THE WILL OF CONGRESS AND OF THE ADMINISTRATION, BUT AT THIS TIME IT WAS THOUGHT BEST TO CONTINUE AT THE LEVELS REQUESTED IN VIEW OF THE FACT THE COUNTRIES IN THIS AREA ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED THAT THE UNITED STATES MIGHT BE TURNING ITS BACK ON THEM IN THE POST-VIETNAM INTERVAL.

7. DURING A DISCUSSION OF US WEAPONS CAPTURED IN VIETNAM CONGRESSMAN WOLFF COMMENTED HE HAD HEARD OF A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON TO THE VIETNAMESE PROMISING SOMETHING LIKE \$3.6 BILLION OF REPARATIONS, AND CONGRESSMAN BURKE ASKED WHETHER THE ADMINISTRATION INTENDED TO PURSUE THIS SO-CALLED AGREEMENT. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO SUCH AGREEMENT BY THIS ADMINISTRATION BUT THAT HE HAD SEEN A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT NIXON TO PM PHAM VAN DONG DATED FEBRUARY 1, 1973. THIS LETTER WAS NEVER ACTUALLY IN STATE DEPARTMENT FILES UNTIL DR. KISSINGER MOVED TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT. THE FIGURE USED BY THE CHAIRMAN WAS ABOUT RIGHT. THE LETTER EXISTS, BUT IS NOT AN OBLIGATION OF THIS ADMINISTRATION, AND WAS NOT KNOWN TO ANY MEMBER OF CONGRESS WHICH IS A FACT HANOI SHOULD UNDERSTAND WHEN TAKING THIS LETTER INTO ACCOUNT. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF COMMENTED HE HAD WRITTEN TO FORMER PRESIDENT NIXON AND FORMER SECRETARY KISSINGER REQUESTING THIS LETTER, AND WAS NOT AT THIS TIME REQUESTING IT FROM THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

8. EAST TIMOR. CONGRESSMANWOMAN MEYNER ASKED FOR COMMENT ON EAST TIMOR INCLUDING HOW THE SITUATION THERE AFFECTED OUR SECURITY ASSISTANCE POSTURE, AND FURTHERMORE WHETHER AMERICAN WEAPONS HAD BEEN USED. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT HE HAD SEEN PRESS REPORTS ABOUT 100,000 PERSONS ALLEGEDLY

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FOR THE RECORD OR WHEN BOB OAKLEY TESTIFIES NEXT WEEK.

9. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF RECALLED HIS WELL-KNOWN INTEREST IN NARCOTICS AND THE FACT A LARGE SHARE OF US NARCOTICS COME FROM THAILAND, BURMA AND LAOS, AND ASKED WHAT MR. HOLBROOKE THOUGHT OF HIS AMENDMENT CALLING FOR A CUT-OFF OF US ASSISTANCE TO COUNTRIES WHICH DO NOT COOPERATE FULLY IN SUPPRESSING THE NARCOTICS TRAFFIC. HOLBROOKE RESPONDED THAT HE AGREED FULLY WITH THIS AMENDMENT (REFERRING TO SECTION 481 OF THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE ACT) AND NOTED THE EXECUTIVE HOPED TO HAVE A NEW PLAN SOON TO DEAL WITH CHOKE POINTS IN THE TRAFFIC. HE SHARED FULLY THE CONGRESSMAN'S CONCERN AND DID NOT INTEND TO SUBORDINATE OUR ANTI-NARCOTICS EFFORT TO OTHER INTERESTS. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF COMMENTED THAT HE FOUND THIS ATTITUDE REFRESHING AND A CHANGE OF POLICY FROM THE PREVIOUS ADMINISTRATION. HE NOTED A RECENT REPORT INDICATES THE ONLY APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM IS GET AT THE SOURCE.

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ORIGIN EA-02

INFO OCT-01 EUR-02 ISO-00 /005 R

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DRAFTED BY EA/RA/WGIM/MJ
APPROVED BY EA/RA-RJMARTENS
EUR-WIZIMMERMAN

-----121936Z 013987 /44

P 131840Z MAR 77
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

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FOL REPEAT STATE 55604 ACTION ALEAP LONDON MOSCOW PARIS
CINCPAC DTD 12 MAR 77.

QUOTE

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UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 22-Sep-1999 12:00:00 am
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Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS, SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Sent Date: 12-Mar-1977 12:00:00 am
Decaption Date: 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
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Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Litigation History:
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Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: HOLBROOKE TESTIMONY MARCH 10
TAGS: PFOR, MASS, KS, US, (HOLBROOKE, RICHARD)
To: ALEAP LONDON MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d0a301b0-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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